NERBASKA AND KARSAS.

SPEECH OF HON. EDWARD WADE. OF OHIO.

In the House of Representatives, May 17, 1854. [CONCLUDED.]

[The reader will see that a part of Mr. WADE'S speech which was printed in the Era of Saturday reprinted to-day. It is done in consequence of a transposition in the latter portion of that which appeared in Saturday's paper.]

But, let us probe the gentlemen's statesn But, let us probe the gentlemen's statesmanship a little deeper, and see what will come of it. The power to prohibit Slavery is a "germ of despotism;" so the power to prohibit piracy, murder, robbery, arson, rape, burglary, larcency, and so on through the criminal code, are also "germs of despotism." Alas! Mr. Chairman, if this be sound logic, and it must be since it comes from "statesmen," then there must be "germs of despotism" enough in the free States to seed with oppression all the nations of the earth. The gentleman's all the nations of the earth. The gentleman's reasoning produces another result equally astounding; that is, that the only States truly free those where Slavery exists, and where the constitutions are purged of so "despotic a germ" as the power to abolish it. In this wise, sir, a tatesman," with a logical handspike, turns hi nan institutions topsy-turvy.

But, seriously, never until I listened to this de-

bate, could I realize how profound the obscura-tion, how total the eclipse of the moral and intel-lectual vision on this great truth, of the sacredness of human liberty, caused by perpetual con-tact with the gigantic wrong and wickedness of Slavery. Sir, the slaveholders denounce, with Slavery. Sir, the slaveholders denounce, with merciless severity, despotic Governments, seem horrified at the bare idea that Congress should exercise a power in which may lurk the minutest "germ of despotism," and nevertheless seem utterly anconscious that the system of Slavery, to which they cling with a desperation bordering on madness, is the most odious, insulting, and cruel despotism" which now curses God's footstool; or that this inconsistency and mental blindness (to characterize them by no harsher epithets) exhibit the slaveholders of the United States as a laughing-stock to the civilized world. Nay, sir, such is the obliquity of moral and intellectual vision, produced among Southern statesmen, (so they style themselves,) that civil society and government are only seen by them up-side down, like the reflection of a landscape from the calm surface of the lake; and hence, on perceiving in the organization of a Government a power to prohibit of the lake; and hence, on perceiving in the or-ganization of a Government a power to prohibit slavery, the fellest of all the forms of despotism, this feature of it is presented to them as the very perfection of despotic power—one to which the gentleman from Kentucky declares the Sonth "never will submit," when applied to the organ-ization of the Territories. That I may not be

suspected of caricature, I give the gentleman's own language: "But again: cannot the North, with her overwhelming numbers, compete with us on these new theatres in the race of settlement and civnew theatres in the race of settlement and civilization—and must she not only violate the
Constitution by shutting out half the States,
common property-holders with her—but in the
name of liberty outrage liberty by erecting a
despotism over the Territories? Sir, we never
will submit to it—we will resist it to the last."
Yes, sir, such is the threat of insubordination
and disloyalty to the Union, and such the cense

and disloyalty to the Union, and such the cause of it. This abidgment of the liberty of the op-pressed slaveholder, and the dealers in human pressed slaveholder, and the dealers in human flesh and blood, this oppressive tariff on the business of huckstering in husbands and wives, mothers and their children, will never be submitted to. Well, sir, in reply to all this kind of bluster, I would respectfully ask, what kind of unsubmissiveness, in the premises, do the slaveholders intend to manifest? Is the old cry of wolf to be raised to frighten the doughfaces, which has, on so many occasions, and so successfully, been resorted to by Southern politicians—the cry of dissolution of the Union? Let me say to the gentleman from Kentneky, that we of the free States have from Kentncky, that we of the free States have grown too familiar with this hysterical ill humor of the South. It has ceased to carry with it any terrors, but, on the contrary, there are multitudes now at the North, and their number is rapidly increasing, who speak in no smothered tones of a separation as necessary, not only to the honor, but the interests of the free States. And, sir, mark of Cain, the brand of traitor, is in store for that son of the North, either in this House or wherever else, by whom or whose aid or counsel, this deed of shame may be consummated. Sir, morally, and ultimately politically, it will have been "better for that man that he had never been

The gentleman from Kentucky, it seems, would set off against the popular outbreak on Boston Common, and the multitudinous other demonstracious bill, the approving resolutions of a minori-ty of the Legislature of Illinois, and so thankful is he for so small a favor, that he breaks out in a bitter taunt against the East and North, and per-

petrates a towering compliment to, and a glowing prediction of, the growing power of the West. This is his language.

"Did you hear of the infuriated mob that basely hung the author of this bill in effigy, on Boston Common? But did you note soon after the cheering tones of approval the west wind brought from his prairie State? Remember gentlemen, in the midst of your exultation, that the political power of this country is now climb-ing the summits of the Alleghany mountains, and before this decade closes, will have pursued its unreturning course far into the valley of the Mississippi-that vast region richer than the delta of the Nile, and whose millions, and ever-increasing millions, are destined to a political unity as lasting as civilization and commerce, bound forever together by the double tie of in-

It is all so, Mr. Chairman; but, alas, for poor old Kentucky, unless she devise some means by which to east from her bending shoulders this old Man of the Sea," this eating cancer, this consuming curse of Slavery, she dooms herself to a premature old age, and in her youth and young manhood, to fall the lowest, and become the least, in the bright galaxy of States which is to form this stupendous central power. Yes, sir, the political power of this nation is pursuing its unobstructed way to its resting place in the great valley of the Mississippi; but let the gentleman from Kentucky remember, let every slaveholder on this floor mark my words—I utter them in all kindness, but with a solemn conviction of their truth—the pathway a single tear of the coffled slave. Onward, sir. and still onward, is the remorseless tread of em-pire to her rightful home; but no crack of the over-seer's bloody lash, no shriek of the lacerated slave, no groan of the despairing mother, torn from the child she has borne in sorrow, is mingled with, or mars the shouts and anthems of, the free. No, sir; no! The plow, the anvil, and the loom, the ax, the scythe, and the reaper, the chisel, the saw, and the trowel, with all the multitudinous equipments of civil liberty—these, sir, with songs of praise and thanksgiving to the Great Emancipator for the priceless gem of personal freedom—these, these lare the ecomparisments the major of that these I are the accompaniments, the music of that march of empire, the majestic tread of whose goings forth, is destined to "crush out" human bondage, giving deliverance to both master

But the question is tauntingly asked by the gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. BRECKINEDOR,] "Cannot you of the free States, on this theory of "Cannot you of the free States, on this theory of 'popular sovereignty,' compete successfully with us of the slave States for supremacy in the Territories—you who have some fifteen millions of free population, while we of the slave States have less than one half that number? If you cannot, then what becomes of your boasted superiority of free, over slave institutions?" To this boastful interpogation my answer is, No! We cannot transplant our higher order of civilization, from the old plant our higher order of civilization of Slavery excluded from the Union, Arkansas organized as a Territory without restriction of Slavery excluded from the Union, Arkansas and Ne bare that the curbon, and the Union, Arkansas organized as a Territory without restriction of Slavery excluded from the Union, Arkansas and Ne bare that the curbon of Slavery excluded from the trior, and the Union, Arkansas organized as a Territory without restri course, mean a contract for breach of which a suit may be maintained in a court of law, or a bill for specific performance in a court of law, or a bill for specific performance in a court of equity. All I mean by this language is, that these acts continued only, your ready appropriation of the cant phrase of "popular sovereignty." This, however, is the result of no superiority of slave over free institutions, but the reverse—from their actual inferiority. As in the animal economy, the

fecundity is inversely as the lowness of organiza-tion, so in social and political organizations, their powers of reproduction are exactly in the same inverse ratio; that is, the lower the organization, the more rapidly may they be multiplied. A mothe more rapidly may they be multiplied. A mo-ment's examination of the nature of free and slave institutions, will confirm this theory. The slaveholder, from a double necessity, is a propa-gandist of his system. Continued slave cultiva-tion smites the soil with the curse of barrenness;

Slavery must therefore, expand or perish.

The multiplication of slave States clothes the slaveholder with political honors, confers on him political power, "puts money in his purse," and opens up for him, new and virgin soil in exchange for that which had become worthless from slave cultivation. Hence the slaveholder's rampant propagandism. Slavery also impoverishes and debases the non-slaveholder. It makes labor dispenses the slaveholder. onorable, and thus deprives the laborer of even honorable, and thus deprives the laborer of even moderate wealth, without which, he can neither be respected, nor worthy of respect, in a slave-holding community. He forms no local attachments, and the poor "sand-hiller" may, at a moment's notice, pack his few traps, and his wife and baby, on his old horse or mute, while he and the children, squalid, ignorant, and reckless, follow behind on foot, to any place where the slave-holder may have pointed or led the way. Having but little to dispose of, and less to carry with him, comparatively destitute of mental, moral, and social cultivation, his local attachments are few and feeble—constituting the connecting link becial cultivation, his local attachments are few and feeble—constituting the connecting link between the slave and slaveholder—inheriting the pride of race of the one, and the ignorance and poverty of the other, he is a necessary instrument and accompaniment of the slaveholder's iffigrations. Governed by the smile, as implicitly as the slave by the frown of the slaveholder, the "poor white folks," the slave and the master, constitute, as it were a military force of the Slavery propagation. as it were, a military force of the Slavery propaas it were, a military force of the Slavery propa-gandists, moving to the new Territories with a celerity which cannot be approached by emigrants from the free States. On the principle of the popular saying, that "falsehood will travel a hundred miles, while truth is pulling on its boots," the slaveholders will have entered and taken possession of the new Territories; and from natural and necessary repulsion between the two systems, will expel the free State emigrant from the territories, thus preoccupied by the natural enemies of free labor.

A glance at the motives and the process of free

State emigration, will illustrate this argument. The spirit of propagandism does not enter into The spirit of propagandism does not enter into free State emigration at all. This proceeds on a calculation of the chances of increasing the prospective blessings of domestic comfort and civil society in the far-off home, by enduing the privations necessarily incident to removal to a wild and unsettled country. And what are these privations? The school-house for the children, the meeting-house for himself and young family; the old homestead, clustered around with the memoold homestead, clustered around with the memo-ries of many generations, and still genial with the untold comforts and conveniences of a freeman's home. There, also, are the fathers, sepulchres, home. There, also, are the fathers, sepulchres, enclosing the consecrated dust of many generations; and there are the intertwined affections of the aged and the young; the hoary grandsire tottering on his staff, now living only to recount the bright memories of childhood and youth—he cannot go, nor can he be left behind. There the fair-haired youth and bright-eyed maiden—the strong affections of their young hearts must be rudely torn asunder; the "new country" must be explored by some strong man, of nerve to endure, and judgment to choose wisely. The "old home-stead," with its surplus and untransportable imstead," with its surplus and untransportable implements, must be disposed of; neighbors and friends summoned in counsel, that on arrival in the "new country," the sine qua non of free State civilization, the school-house and "meeting-house," may appear simultaneously with the humble dwelling. Every screw must be tightened, that "no step backward" in the progress of society be taken by this exodus from the sacred associations of "home." This business is the work of time; but when the migration of the free State emigrant is completed, he will have planted the germ of the highest order of civilization known to the human race. But while he is making the preliminary arrangements, nay, while revolving preliminary arrangements, nay, while revolving the question of "removal" in his mind, the slave State emigrant will have improvised (if I may so say) the caricature he calls a State—a thing of lean and half-famished "sand-hillers" and "poor white folks "-slaves and slaveholders; but still a craft of State, something to be officered and and majors, colonels, and generals "too numer-ous to be mentioned." This superior speed of the slaveholders in "getting up" a new State they know full well, and hence their joyful acceptance of such "pe is given the people of these Territories by this bill; and this fact, our free State office-seekers, nick-named statesmen, might know, if great learning or blind ambition fiad not emasculated them of all practical knowledge of things they

CHANDLER, I indeed, every gentleman who has opposed this bill here or elsewhere, have appealed to the Missouri compromise as a compact, excluding Slavery from these Territories-as a settlement of the Slavery controversy of that day, assented to by the slaveholding States as the conideration for the like assent of the free States to the permission of Slavery south of the compro-mise line. Gentlemen of the free States, insist that this was an agreement between the two sections, fairly made, and consequently, binding in honor; though, from the condition of the parties to it, not irrepealable by act of Congress. This statement of the case, it seems to me, with those who recognise the obligation of these Slavery compacts, (which I do not, for reasons stated hereafter.) is rather a "tight fit," and a number of Southern gentlemen, have stepped manfully forward, ac-knowledged the obligation and their willingness to abide by it in spirit and letter. To those gentlemen—hopelessly, irreconcilably separated as I am from them, by the distance of the poles apart on every point of the Slavery controversy—I cannot deny myself the pleasure of frankly stating my sincere appreciation of a manly and courageous act, honorable alike to their heads and hearts. But this class of moderate Southern politicians, constitutes the most dangerous enemy of the Anti-Slavery movement. These are the fatal opiate which lulls the Northern mind to a dreamless slumber, while the Slavery propagandists are hatching their plots of mischief. Sir, as an eternal opponent of Slavery; as one who loathes it with a strength of abhorrence, which has no language for expression, I most sincerely regret, if this iniquitous measure is doomed to pass this moral law? With the slaveholder, power and House, that the South does not present an unbroken column against the Missouri compromise, in order that every intervening obstacle to a fair contest between Liberty and Slavery, may be taken out of the way. But sir, this contest, which is a moral and political contest, can never be conducted to advantage by the friends of Liberty, while these amiable Southern gentlemen stand between the opponents of Slavery and the Slavery propagandists. Sir, as a friend of Liberty, I rejoice that Southern opposition to this bill is waning into an insignificant handful, now numbering less than a baker's dozen, and that it

regation my answer is, No? We cannot transplant our higher order of civilization, from the old free States into the new Territories, with the celerity which you of the slave States, can transfer your rude and slipshod institutions from the old, wornsuit may be maintained in a court of law, or a bill for specific performance in a court of equity.

All I mean by this language is, that these acts constituted such an arrangement of the slave controversy, as was considered binding in honor and good faith, upon those who were partled.

adjustments, strange as the avowal may seem, my judgment and my sympathy are with the South. Those compacts and adjustments, by the Consti-tution of the United States, are utterly null and tution of the United States, are utterly null and void, for lack of the semblance or shadow of power conferred on Congress to establish, recognise, or guaranty Slavery under any circumstances whatever. But by the moral constitution of the universe, all compacts to plunder, or to connive at the plunder and spoil of our fellowmen, our equals before our Common Father of the great patrimony of life, liberty, and happiness, which he has given in common to all his children, are doubly void, being both impious and immoral. As a simple act of Congress, the restriction of Slavery in these Territories was both constitutional and just; and the Representative from the free States, who shall, by any act of from the free States, who shall, by omission or commission, impair in one iota, the strength or vigor of that act, will deserve to be coffled with a gang of imbruted slaves, driven to the far South, and taught under plantation discipline, not to buckster and jockey with other men's liberties, until he shall have learned by a But, further, by the purchase of the Louisiana

But, further, by the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, and its consequent passing under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government, the Slavery then existing in that Territory, was ipso facto abolished. For the Slavery restrictionists therefore, to agree to the continuance of the system in Missouri, Arkansas, and what is now the State of Louisiana, in consideration of its restriction in what are now called Kansas and Newska was an attenual courselves the freedom. striction in what are now called Kansas and Ne-braska, was an attempt to purchase the freedom of what was already free, by the enslavement of those who were also equally free. As a com-pact, therefore, the Missouri compromise was im-moral, unconstitutional, and utterly void; and the wonder to me is, that gentlemen from the free States, should now seek to avail themselves of this currupt and humiliating concession as the foundation of their opposition to this iniquitous bill. For myself sir, (and I speak for myself foundation of their opposition to this iniquitous bill. For myself sir, (and I speak for myself alone,) I would as soon bring a suit before a court of justice against a thief for a dividend of stolen goods, as insist on anything granted to me in consideration of a concession on my part, at once cowardly, inhumane, and unjust. No, sir, I would ask nothing on the ground of that ignominious Missouri compromise—that first and fatal surrender of the principles and honor of the free States, to the insatiable covetings of the fell spirit of Slavery propagandism—that pioneer to this last infamous project, but only the last, because Congress cannot at the same time, sin both in the present and in the future.

I desire, Mr. Chairman, to be distinctly under-

stood, in what I say on the validity of this Missouri compromise, and I therefore will endeavor to restate my position. It is this. The restriction of Slavery above the line of 36° 30′ north latitude, by the eighth section of the act of Congress of March 6, 1820, was and is constitutional, and therefore, as an act of Congress, obligatory until repealed; but it acquired no additional force or repeated; but it acquired no auditional force of efficacy, by reason of any congressional assent, expressed or implied, to the existence of Slavery below that line. Again, suppose Congress should organize two Territories within the present limits of Utah, and in one should prohibit polygamy; and as a consideration, compact, or compromise for this, should not disallow it in the other; the prohibition would be valid; but would acquire no additional sanctity by reason of such compromise. One further illustration on this point. Suppose Southern gentlemen, unable to procure from Mary-land and Virginia, slaves to supply the New Or-leans market, should demand a repeal of the acts of Congress prohibiting the African slave trade; and should propose to extend the Missouri slave restriction to New Mexico; and Congress should thereupon, re-open the foreign slave trade, and at the same time, exclude Slavery from New Mexico; this would be a compromise, identical in principle with the Missouri compromise; and yet, sir, the exclusion of Slavery from New Mexico, would be valid; but I trust there is no Representative on this floor from the free States, who ought to know, as well as of all common sense.

The gentleman from Vermont, [Mr. Meacham.] and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. community, based upon such considerations, community, based upon such considerations, would be tolerated for one moment in a court of justice; and inter-State or intersectional compacts, thus condemned by the moral sense of

> any reason to expect that the slaveholders will recognise the obligation of those compromises, whenever the interests of Slavery may, in their judgment, demand their violation? Justice sir, or the notion that some things may of mour be-long to individuals; and that things which belong to the individual cannot be rightfully taken from him without his consent, is of itself alone. the sole ground of the inviolability of "compacts and compromises"—a man's right to himself, is of course the highest and most sacred of all his rights—consequently, to deprive a human being of self-ownership, and to subject him against his will, to the property ownership of another, is the highest act of injustice, short of wilful murder, that man can perpetrate upon his fellow. Every human being of mature years, is under the highest and most solemn compromise or compact with every other, that he will not invade this sacred right of self-ownership. The slaveholder is, therefore, the violator of this deepest seated foundation of human rights. He breaks the great "compact" on which hangs the very existence of distributive

mankind, cannot in the nature of things be obli-

justice and social order.

How then can the slaveholder be expected to abide by "compacts and compromises," when such obedience comes in conflict with his slaveright in all things conducing to mastery over his slave, are convertible terms; and he applies inexorably, this odious definition to all numbering less than a baker's dozen, and that it must soon be utterly annihilated by the "compact-breakers" and Slavery propagandists. When that time shall have arrived, the North will be a unit, and a doughface as rare a bird as the black swan. Then sir, let Slavery stand from under, for its hour will have come.

That the acts of Congress by which Missouri must desirited as a slave State into the Union.

whether we receive from the slaveholders, a compensation in Monry, in lieu of such moral, social, and economical advantages. In either case, if slaveholding be a CRIME, then we of the case, if slaveholding he a crime, then we of the free States, by such a compact, become participators in the crime. If any gentleman is startled by the inevitable result of this argument, but still doubts, then let him substitute firacy, or any other universally admitted crime, for Slavery, cease to declaim against slaveholding as wrong, or else must relinquish his demand for the obser-vance of compacts based on concessions to the right of slaveholding.

By the slave code, the master can make no agreement with his slave; and for gentlemen of the free States, who haggle about the sacredness of

this compromise, to make agreements with their horses, would be no more ridiculous, as a legal bargain, in the eyes of Southern gentlemen. This was different even under the ancient com-mon law, during the midnight of the dark ages, when Slavery was allowed in England. Even in that dark night of superstition and violence, if a master made a contract with his slave, no matter how triffing the subject, the contract was valid beyond its own provisions. It amounted to an absolute emancipation of the slave. Even in that age, every presumption of law was in favor of liberty. But not so with the guilty, sneaking, or neerly. But not so with the guilty, sneaking, contemptible slave codes of our own times and country. By these, not only the presumptions of law are against liberty, but, in a majority of the slave States, perhaps all of them, emancipation of slaves is absolutely forbidden, excepting on condition of removal from the State. This contrast shows the difference between our own times and those of ancient days. It shows that ancient common law Slavery was the offspring of ignorance and barbarism, but that, as the light of Christianity, with its gentle, humanizing influences, dawned upon that darkness, it set the naences, dawned upon that darkness, it set the nations in motion forward, progressing towards emancipation and civilization. It shows, too, that modern Slavery is the whelp of avarice; and that its continuance is impossible, except by reversing the onward movements of civilization, and turning us back to the barbarism of Africa, with the beauties of which, modern sham Democracy seems absolutely enamored; and determined to force that barbarism as a dowry, under the catching title of "popular sovereignty," on the people of Kansas and Nebraska. But I would pow-men, anywhere or for any purpose but for punishment of crime, have no just reason to expect such compromises will be observed, when either the interests or the rower of the enslavers come in conflict with the compromise of 1850, has now become popular in the free States, and that this Nebraska and Kansas bill, being only another cub of the vers come in conflict with the compromise of 1850, has now become popular in the free States, and that this Nebraska and Kansas bill, being only another cub of the vers come in conflict with the terms or the objects of such compromise. Such compacts on both sides, are violations of faith with mankind; our complaints therefore, that the slaveholders do not keep within the bounds limited by the Missouri compromise, but endeavor to break over them without our consent, are not well founded. True, we of the free States took the "thirty pieces of silver," and in consideration thereof, consented to the limits within which all the cruelties and loathsome abominations of Slavery might be practiced; and did not perhaps, anticipate that the slaveholders would treat THEIR concessions to freedom as an "Indian gift," (a GIFT to be resumed when desired by the donor.) So neither did Iscarnor probably, when he bargained merely to show the chief priests and Pharisees, where the Saviour might be found, anticipate so dread a

FIXION; the verdict of mankind has nevertheless consigned the betrayer to an immortality of infamy. Let us therefore profit by this example; and bargain no more for the transfer of the rights and liberties of other men.

Sir, when the people of the free States sell the black man's freedom to the slaveholder, it is not strange that the latter insist on guaranty of title; remedy; and herein gentlemen of the free States have a practical illustration of the proverb, "What is got over the Devil's back goes under his belly." And sir, this naming of the PRINCE or Knaves and rascally compromisers, vividly re-calls to mind, that celebrated compact of his, so calls to mind, that celebrated compact of his, so closely analogous in principle, with these "truck and dicker" compromises by free State politicians, of the black man's inalienable right to liberty, wherehe the

consequence of the mercenary act, as the CRUCI-PIXION; the verdict of mankind has nevertheless

on the body-politic, wearing out the very life of freedom?—that it is a ceaseless aggression upon justice, and, from its very nature, eternally oposed to law and order?—that it and Freedo never, never can be so fraternized as to dwell the face, and cease these vain attempts at tinkering up alliances and compacts between interests in their deepest nature, eternally and irreconcilably hostile? Why talk of "compacts," when we know that Slavery lives and has its being in breach of faith; that its fell and hateful spirit is as, the dismemberment of Mexico, the eager covering of Cuba, and now, lastly, this attempt to thrust its execrable self upon Kansas and Nebraska. Sir, the spirit of Slavery is the deadly enemy of human rights, the enemy of the human race. Compromises with it, are as impious as they are foolish and vain. The spread of this spirit, like the march of the

pestilence "that walketh in darkness," is the terror of mankind. The spirit of Liberty and

machinery of Slavery and Freedom, the friction of its working, as each increases in strength and extent of surface, will increase also in severity. and become more and still more remediless, until the harder and stronger will have ground the weaker to powder? "Compacts and adjustments" have been "weighed in the balance and found wanting," and the issue between Liberty and Slavery, so long "staved off" by self-glorifying statements. fying statesmen, aspiring politicians, and "lower law" divines, must now be joined, thanks to the ong before it was ripe, and while themselves also,

were equally green.

The political crimes and follies of every strugof the people of the free States, to decoy them into the support of some impotent tool of the Slavery propagandists, are just beginning to open their eyes to the palpable fact, that our partisan

er as rival enemies, in a hopeless and embittered struggle to harmonize systems so utterly, fatally irreconcilable, as Liberty and Slavery. The gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Stephens,] the other day, seemed to imagine himself fighting

over again the great compromise battle of 1850 and inasmuch as Northern gentlemen at that time and inasmuch as Northern gentlemen at that time either were, or affected to be alarmed for the safety of the Union, the gentleman is under the delusion that the like bluster now, will produce the like effect upon the present Congress. That gentleman, (and he is by no means the only one in the same darkness,) evidently did not then understand the causes which led to that ruinous and disgraceful surrender of Northern principles and Northern beauty and he must have been and Northern honor; and he must have been dreaming from that time to this. That compromise may be said to have been the last will and testament of certain very distinguished, but aged and infirm, candidates for the Presidency, wherein they gave and bequeathed to the South, all the rights and benefits guarantied in that compromise, in consideration of the anticipated support of Southern politicians for that high office; and the usual testamentary form running in this wise: "We, A. B., &c., being weak in body, but of sound and disposing mind and memory, in view of the uncertainty of political life, and the certainty of political death, and being fully persuaded that political death, and being limit personaled that this is our last and only remaining chance for realizing the high object of our ambition, do give and bequeath," &c., would have been no inapt

preamble to those measures.

But sir, that compromise was, and ever has been, odious to the people of the free States, of all parties. Out of compassion to the eminent gentlemen, to further whose chances for the Presidency it was made; and to quiet the nerves of certain timid and conservative gentlemen who were doubtless, really alarmed at the "ravings, and hissings, and howlings," (to use the amiable language of the gentleman from Georgia,) of Southern gentlemen on this floor, that compromise was reluctantly acquiesced in by the Whigs and Democrats of the North. But it never received more than a reluctant, a loathsome acqui-escence; and in this lurks the great and fatal delusion of the projectors and advocates of this most iniquitous measure. Neither the intellect, the heart, nor the conscience of the people of the free States, was with, or for that compromise. On the contrary, the intellect, the heart, and th conscience of that people, (those of them, I mean, who were endowed with these attributes,) condemned, repudiated, abhorred that dishonorable, say to gentlemen from the free States, that those who make agreements and compromises with others, that those others may enslave their fel-with him, are laboring under the strange delusion, and Kansas bill, being only another cub of the same litter, will also speedily become as great a favorite with the people of the free States. From hence sir, comes to the advocates of this bill, the pleasant fancy, that all the opposition to the guilty project of cursing with the mildew of Slavery the heart of the North American continent, and turning it into a kennel for the breeding of slaves for the shambles of the South, are but the "ra-vings, and howlings, and hissings, of the beaten and routed ranks of the factionists and malcontents," as the gentleman from Georgia has it. Why sir, we "factionists and mal-contents"

predicted just such a finale, to that weak and wicked bargain, saic, and surrender of humanity and justice, and the honor and interests of the free States; and we take this new rascality very coolly; but your treacherous arrow has touched the crural nerve of the drowsy and slumbering old fogies who were snoozing comfortably under the shadow of Southern chivalry and Southern the shadow of Southern chivary and Southern honor; but now, the great deep of the Northern heart is heaving with the indignation of those betrayed, but thoroughly roused leviathans; and my advice to the chivalry and doughfaces is, to "stand from under;" "for if thou hast run to "stand from under;" "for if thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with horses?" Yes sir, if the few obscure, despised, and hated Aboand when this guarantee is most easily effected by a breach of the contract of guaranty, this indignant free States enter the course against you? Oh, says the gentleman from Georgia, to the Representatives of the free States, your constituents, commit treason against huticians, of the black man's inalienable right to liberty, whereby the Arch Oppressor, for an imour constituents with this flagitious "lie in our constituents with the lie foot, to the Great Emancipator.

Sir, will Northern statesmen never learn, even by experience, that Slavery is an incurable ulcer on the body-politic, wearing out the second of the second of the free States; and he seems to think they will take all such stuff for Gospel, as readily as a congregation of illiterate below.

politics and whiskey.

But in this business, this sublime, heroic business, of bearding constituents by throwing their repudiation of justice, which is the foundation of law? Why not look this mere surface truth in two may play at; and I say to the gentleman from Georgia, "physician, heal thyself." Suppose the gentleman returns to his own constitu-ents, and tells them that "they are wrong, and he is right;" that slavery is a great moral wrong, a curse to master and slave, and a double curse to those who are neither masters nor slaves; and aggression, violence, and the gratification of its own unbridled will? Hence the seizure of Texconstituents, number 110,601. Of these, 63,435 are slaves, and \$16 free colored. Now, the gentleman would not need to expend much breath in good faith, to conquer the prejudices against liberty, of this, the largest portion of his constitu-

the cause of the poor white man's poverty and degradation, and would be forever a "dead lock" on the moral and social elevation of themselves and their posterity. By these, and other arguments which the gentleman's talents and genius would at once suggest, it seems to me he might, without very serious trouble, persuade this class of his constituents, to "conquer their prejudices" in favor of an institution, at once the poor man's curse and the rich man's crime. But by what arguments the gentleman might succeed in per-suading the eleven hundred slaveholders in his restless little, and would-be great men who com-menced clubbing the apple of the Presidency so district to "conquer their prejudices" in favor of The political crimes and follies of every struggle for the Presidency, the distribution of the
spoils when that struggle is over, to incompetent
and worthless political fortune hunters, as a reward for the frauds and falsehoods, the tricks
and cheats, successfully practiced on the and cheats, successfully practiced on the masses of the people of the free States, to decoy them mends to some of us of the free States. The "pre-

standing of perhaps every advocate of this perfidus bill on this floor, is evident by the attempt of each to extenuet this breach of faith on his pact, of agreement, is alien utterly. It has no faith in subsequent or ganizations of newly activities and their pettilogging objections to the above arrangement as a compact. It will suffice to say, that if they could convict their opponents of the brill on their pettilogging objections to the above arrangement as a compact. It will suffice to say, that if they could convict their opponents of the perfid of the consideration of a certain designated portion of the advocates of this bill, of a deliberate violation of the force and efficacy of their fathers. But sir, on this question of Slavery from a certain other of their fathers. But sir, on this question of the force and efficacy of these Slavery compacts and adjustments, strange as the avoval may seen, my writing, together with a like number of women, equally well instructed, intelligent, and if possible, of still more unconquerable love of justice, liberty, and Christianity, and a corresponding abhorrence of Slavery. All these, Mr. Chairman, constitute a phalanx of emancipationists whose "prejudices" in favor of universal liberty under just and humane laws, I have neither the inclination nor the audacity, even to ask them to "conquer." No sir, no! I confess it, I have no stomach for such a fight. My choice would be most decidedly, to "let out the job" to the gentleman from Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I would say here to that gentleman, or any other South-

> as a gross moral wrong, a physical, political, and social curse; but nevertheless, he may advocate Slavery and denounce Liberty, with all the vehe-mence of his most exciting declamation; and yet he shall be received with hospitality, heard with candor, and treated with courtesy and kindness; not a hair of his head injured, or a threat of personal violence attered against him. The gentle-man may talk to them of the "ravings, howlings, and hissings of vipers and adders," with the unc-tion of one fresh from a dance in the snake apartment of Noah's ark, and yet I am sure my-con-stituents will be moved to merriment only, at such extravagant language, not to insult or vio-lence. Yes sir, though I would hold myself responsible for all I have undertaken in behalf of the gentleman's safety, and the decorum of my constituents, still I would not stand surety, that the graduates of the numberless schoolhouses the gentleman would see there, might not oppose to him, arguments more destructive to his reason-ing, than the brickbats from our Pro-Slavery opponents were wont to prove, to our limbs and heads. Finally sir, I am fully persuaded that the gentleman would return from his campaign among my constituents, fully satisfied that they constitute as moral, intelligent, industrious, and happy a people, dwelling in the delightful and happy homes conquered from an unbroken and repulsive wilderness, and transformed by the resistless energy of free labor, into green pastures and teeming fields; and on the whole, exhibiting as fair and desirable a spectacle of the physical, social, and moral blessings of liberty as can be found on the footstool of the benevolent Creator.

prejudices" against Slavery-or in other words, our instinctive love of Human Liberty. This is the conquest to which we are so fervently invited. To do this, involves the self-perversion of human nature from its loftiest, holiest instincts, to its stitution, or a dissolution of the Union. Sir, I eak very plainly, and I disdain to resort to the lowest, fellest depths of utter, hopeless degradation. This is the "SUBLIME SPECTACLE," for the repetition of which the gentleman entertains such an entertains such fervent yearning. Sir, one having a taste for the sublimity of that spectacle, where SELF is sacrificed to DUTY, cannot appreciate the one so ravishing to the gentleman's perverted vision. There may be sublimity in audacious wickedness, such as was exhibited when the Prince of Hell solicited adoration from the Prince of Life. One whose nature is ravished by this kind of sublimity, may nature is ravished by this kind of sublimity, may well enjoy the sublimity of that scene depicted by the gentleman from Georgia, with so much apparent, and I doubt not, real satisfaction.

But sir, the gentleman's wish is father to the thought that the people of Boston, on the occasion to which he alludes, overcame their hatred of Slavery and the insolence of the slave power.

ervation of which, their fathers blood moistened the first battle-fields of the Revolution? Sir, as one of the humblest of all the children of the old Bay State, I give the degrading intimation of the gentleman from Georgia, an indignant denial No sir, never! In a moment of weak commis-seration for that "archangel ruined," the people of Boston, Massachusetts, reluctantly smothered their convictions of duty to themselves and country, but did not conquer their love of Liberty, nor obliterate from their hearts their reverence for the principles and deeds of their Sir, they did not forget the glorious fathers. Revolution; they did not forget Lexington and Bunker Hill. Their fault was, that in a moment of great excitement and strong temptation, they declined from the "straight and narrow path" of right by "doing the evil" of yielding to the demands of the slave power, "that the supposed good," of even a chance that Daniel Webster night be President of the United States, might ome of it. But sir, I trust that Massachusetts, by that kind of financiering, has by this time, learned that the slave power, like its great progenitor, leads its followers into trouble, but leaves them to extricate themselves as they best may. Bu if the cheat in that Presidential game of poker was not enough to disper the delusion, this last foul play of the slave power, by the aid of free State political ponchers, to steal from Freedom this great Territory, and consign it forever, to the doom and curse of Slavery, has uncapped the volcano; and these "smothered convictions," not "conquered prejudices," are blazing over New England, and all the free States, with an intensity, threatening the existence of Slavery itself. And this, Mr. Chairman, is but the "beginning of the end." This new outbreak of the fires of Freedom is but the natural reaction of man's moral nature, from that state of collapse into which it fell, on yielding to the senseles and infamous "compromise measures"—that "finality" of fools, without which, the gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. CLINGMAN,] gravely told us, "we should have no Government now;" to which I reply, if the Federal Government was unshipped from the Constitution, and placed on the frail trap-sticks, called the compromise of 1850—that hateful and wicked conglomerate of treason and folly—the sooner we have "no Gov-ernment" the better. Let it perish; for when this Government shall cease beyond reclamation to act as the guardian of Liberty under the Con-

Attempts to unite angels of light with godamned," would be no more audaciously impious. Sow as many pillows under the armholes of oppression and injustice, daub them with the untempered mortar of "compacts and compromises," as much as you will, still your attempts to join together what God Almighty has put asunder, ought and must and will, fall to pieces the man from Georgia—one so richly endowed with the gift of making the better appear the better reason, would have but little trouble in demonstrating to those poor constituents of his, that the enslavestitution, and shall permanently fall into the hands of Slavery propagandists, as it now is, and for many years has been, by the treason to Liberty, of the party called in derision, Democratic, it will not be worth preserving. I am willing sir, (and I speak the sentiments of an overwhelm ing majority of my constituents,) to abide by the Constitution of the United States, when administered according to its spirit and letter. But, as one of the humblest of the people of the free States, I am not willing to see the Constitution perverted from the beneficent ends for which it was framed; and the Government under it, transformed into a felon's league for the oppression o "faring sumptuously every day" on the fruits of labor, extorted from their bondmen by the cruel tion of the white laborer; and rendered serviceable only to promote the inordinate ambition and cupidity of some two hundred and fifty or three so much would its accomplishment be the more so much worthy the gentleman's prowess. But tough and ugly as the job may be for the gentleman, it will utive patronage. The Constitution, thus distorted and perverted, is the slaveholders' Constitution. include to some of us of the free States. The "prejudices" of my constituents, for instance, in favor of the golden rule," and the Declaration of Independence, added to the universal to protect their exclusive interests. dependence, added to the universal instincts of humanity—the teachings of reason—the voice of execuable anti-freedom and anti-civilization polpoliticians are neither patriots nor statesmen, but rather a gang of political privateers and free-booters, who have navigated the ship of State on to the quter circuits of the great whirlpool of raltar of difficulties, which I confess would be cuniary expense, or national honor. To this re-

morseless lust of Slavery propagandism, every other sentiment, every other interest, and every other principle, are offered as cheap and fitting sacrifices. To appease this "never-gorged leviathan," the whole immense patronage of the Federal Government is made to minister. Before this deformed and hateful monster, every officer of the Executive and judicial departments is made to bow and swear allegiance, from the President down, through all that countless swarm, numbered by hundreds of thousands, all trained to say here to that gentleman, or any other Southern gentleman, in all good faith, that if his chivalry move him to the conquest of the prejudices of this formidable army of "fanatics" in favor of liberty, I will, on their part, guarantee to him a be would be rudely thrust aside, to give place to liberty, I will, on their part, guarantee to him a courteous and cordial reception among them, and a patient and candid hearing of all he may have to say upon the whole merits of this great controversy between Liberty and Slavery, or between those he denounces-as "fanatics, serpents, and adders," and the slaveholders.

I will go further. I will guaranty that the gentleman will not find among that twenty thousand of my constituents, five hundred who do not utterly loathe and execrate domestic Slavery as a gross moral wrone, a physical, political, and any worthless puppy, mean enough to fawn at the footstool of power for crumbs of patronage. Sir, the children of those whose blood soaked the battle-fields of the Revolution, unless degraded enough to play the sycophant to this atrocious

slave power, so far as protection or patronage under the Government, purchased with their fathers' blood is concerned, are as much *aliens*, as if they had been born and reared cannibals of New Zealand or the Fejee Islands. In their own country, in the homes of their fathers and their fathers' fathers, they are aliens and outlaws—made such by this guilty combination of slaveholders and renegade politicians of the free States. No sir, the Government has ceased to be the Government of the people of the United States, or for the people of the United States. It is the slave-holders Government—a base and villanous oli-garchy, the only intent and purpose of which is, to multiply offices to be filled by the Government hangers-on, and paupers, generated by the slave system; to collect the taxes needful to fill the mouths and pockets of this famished brood of cormorants; and to extend, strengthen, and perpetuate the accursed system, so utterly ruinous to the moral, political, and social interests of the free laborer. It is the slaveholders' Government; and for one, I am for reform or separation; I am for justice, and for liberty—without which there can be no justice; and sir, if this Government will not secure to us of the free States, the Territory which is now free, and has been made and kept free by act of Congress, now for more than an entire generation, then sir, it is not the Government in which the non-slaveholders of the United States have an interest to the value of the President' salary. For such a Government, so administered, I have neither respect nor affection; it is fit only for reform or révolution. On this subject it is best for us of the North and South that we understand each other. Either the Federal Consti-tution does or does not recognise slaves as property, and guaranty to the master, property in his slaves. If the Constitution does this, then it is a hypocrisy, a delusion, a cheat; but if it does not, then the Government, under the joint misrule of the slave and dough-face powers, has been and is, a usurpation and a fraud, which will not only justify, but absolutely demands, either an Ad-ministration based on the FREE spirit of the Con-But to return to the gentleman's favorite theme, the "conquest" of what he is pleased to term

usual cant about devotion to the Union, and all that. I think I know my constituents well, and am well known by them. I know that they are willing to abide in the Union, under the Constitution our fathers framed; and in that Union, and under that Constitution, they have borne much, and for the preservation of those in their purity, will do, endure, and dare as much as men may do, endure, or dare, in any form in which pa-triotism may demand the exercise of those high qualities; and yet sir, I feel warranted in saying to you in their names, and in their behalf: that whenever the slaveholders and doughfaces shall have satisfied them that the Federal Constitution is in reality the bulwark and guaranty of chattel slavery; and they are called upon to choose be-tween Slavery and the Union on the one hand. and Liberty and dissolution on the other; with-out an instant's delay or hesitation, they will choose Liberty for themselves and their children, Sir, I ask, and I hope some son of Massachusetts will answer on this floor, whether, at the comat any cost and every bazard. But sir, neither mand of an apostate son of New England, the denor my constituents entertain any such view of the Federal Constitution. We believe its perversion to the base use of extending the property of the base use of extending the property of the page of extending the property of the page o scendants of the Pilgrims and Puritaus, quench-ed the fires of liberty lighted by their fathers, when they first set foot on the sands of the glo-rious old Bay State? Whether they did or not to the base use of extending and perpetuating Slavery, has been a violation of its letter and spirit; and we are for dethroning the usurpers, 'crush out" and conquer their hate of oppresercise the powers of the Government as thereb to " form a more perfect Union, establish justice insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." To these beneficent ends, we believe the powers of the Constitution are ample; and that the exercise of these powers for the extension or perpetuation of human Slavery, is a usurpation which, if persisted in, will make a dissolution of the Union not only a right, but a duty.

To bring the Federal Government "actively and perpetually on the side of Liberty," and to denationalize Slavery, and confine it strictly to the States where it now exists, are the ends we con-template, and for these we shall labor, through sunshine and storm, through good report and evil report—beaten, we shall renew the fight—suc-cessful, we shall push on the victory—replying to all testy gentlemen who oppose to this resolution of ours, (as was so successfully done in 1850,) threats to secede from the Union, what the benev-olent Uncle Toby said to the fly, "the world is wide enough for thee and me," simply reminding

gentlemen that-"The fight of Freedom once begun, Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son; Though baffled oft, is ever won"—

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